13.

THE TRUE

Protestant Subject,

OR THE

NATURE and RIGHTS

OF

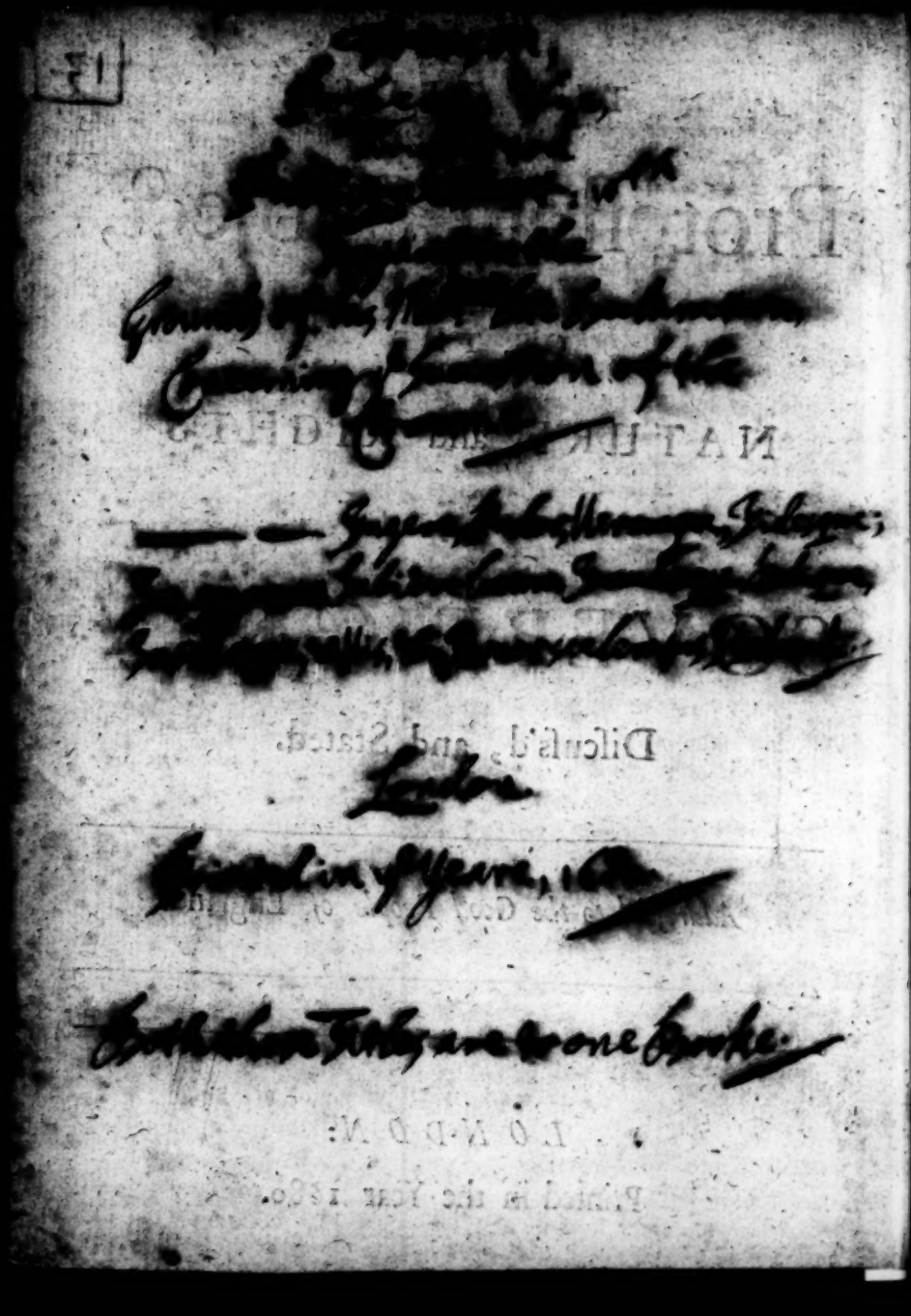
SOVEREIGNTY

Discuss'd, and Stated.

Addressed to the Good People of England.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year 1680.



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London

Printed in the Year, 1680

Both these Titles are to one Booke.

The true Proteſtant Subject, *&c.*

THE INTRODUCTION.

POLICY is an *Art* conſiſting of certain general and fundamental *Rules*, for the Government of a *Community*. For as *Architecture* contrives, and draws out the *Model* of a *Building*; ſo does *Policy* ſet down a proper *Scheme* of a *City*: menaging and determining *Controverſies* about Partitions, Marriages, Laws, Subjection, Contracts, and Puniſhments.

BUT it will not be amiſs previouſly to diſtinguiſh betwixt this *Political Art* and the *Goſpel*; in order to cruſhing that dangerous Opinion, that makes the *Goſpel* to be meerly a *Political Doctrine*; according to the Preſcriptions of which all *Governments* ought to be eſtabliſhed. This Errour has coſt divers *States* very dear; by prompting *miſtaken Zeal* to ſeditious Violences upon the *Civil Regimen*, under colour of reducing it to *Goſpel Rule*. In ſuch Inſtances this Age has been moſt unhappily fruitful: So that to clear the Point, I ſhall ſerve my ſelf of the *ſimile* of *Phyſicks*; betwixt which *Profeſſion* and *Goſpel Precept*, there is equally as wide a difference, as betwixt the *Goſpel* and *Policy of State*. *Piety*, 'tis true, is a main Branch of a *Phyſician's* Character; and ſo is it of a *Prince's* too: But yet the *Arts* themſelves cannot be ſaid to have any direct Relation to the *Goſpel*: For *that* reveals Eternal *Righteouſneſs* which the Heart conceives by *Faith*; and, at the ſame time, enjoyns *Obedience* to the *Civil Sanctions* of the ſeveral *Countries* wherein we live.

Civil Policy and Phyſicks of equal diſtinction from the Goſpel.

The Goſpel approves of all Reaſonable Forms of Government.

OUTWARD Action is the Object of Policy; as treating of Property, Succeſſion, Commerce, and the like, which do often vary, according to the *Genius* of each reſpective

reſpective *Nation*. The *Perſian Laws* differ from thoſe of *Athens*; and the *Roman* from *both*: And as a *Chriſtian* not only faſhions his *Habit*, but alſo computes the *Time*, according to the practice of the place he abides in; ſo may he lawfully ſubmit to their *Civil Inſtitutions*. When the Prophet *Eſdras* was in *Perſia*, he decided matters by the *Laws* of that People; and when at *Jeruſalem*, according to the *Jewiſh*. In *Paleſtine* the *Centurion* obſerv'd the *Jewiſh*; in *Rome* the *Roman Laws*: So that it ſeems manifeſt, that *ſuch* things do not more affect or depend upon the *Goſpel*, than do *variety* of *Habits*, and of *Computations*. Were this Important *Diſtinction* effectually inculcated, it would not a little promote the Eaſe and Reverence of the *Magiſtrate*: For it would defeat the Attempts of ſuch as project the *poyſoning* of the *People* in their *Allegiance*, by malicious *Deſcants* upon *Subſidies*, *State-Grievances*, *Hereditary Rights*, *Prerogative*, and *Penalties*. You ſhall hear them preſcribing to *Tythes*, and branding that *Contract* with *Impiety*, which the *Law of Nations* warrants the *Legality* of. *Wickliff* has mightily beſtirr'd himſelf about non-payment of *Tythes* to Droniſh *Prieſts*: *Capito* ſtickles for *Princes* to curtail their *Revenues*: *Taxes Xuinglius* calls *Harpyes*: and others, the *Publicans Racket*. The *Libertine Anabaptiſts* condemns all *Judicature*; and the ſubtil *Preſbyter* too much *Idolizes* the *Geneva Plat-form*. Now theſe Erronious *Novelties* have ſtill been Fatal to all *Publick Quiet*: So that it concerns every *honeſt* man to fortifie himſelf againſt ſuch *Deluſions*, under what *Mask* ſoever preſented: And this he cannot better do, than by an entire *reliance* upon this ſure *Principle*, *That the* Goſpel *takes Cognizance of the Integrity of the* Heart; *and*, *without interpoſing in* Humane Injunctions, *permits all ſuch* Forms *of* Government, *as are agreeable to* Right Reaſon: *As it approves of* Architecture *and* Phyſicks, *which are founded upon the ſame* Baſis.

FEW.

FEW or none of the *Eccleſiaſtical Writers* have taken notice of this material *Difference:* And upon this ſcore the *Popes* have been encouraged to invade *Empires*, and to arrogate a pretended *Power* of diſpoſing and transferring of *Crowns*, at pleaſure. I cannot too often therefore inſinuate, *That all* Laws *and* Conſtitutions, *not diametrically oppoſite to the* Reſults *of uncorrupted* Reaſon, *the* Goſpel *allows of.* Let us then conſider, that if a *Divine* ſhould ſet up for a *Phyſician*, every body would laugh at him, for *thruſting his Sickle into another mans Harveſt.* If ſo; how *vain* muſt be the *folly* of thoſe *buſie* people, that, before they be well acquainted with the Common *Aphoriſms* of *State*, will undertake for *ſodering* the *Flaws* of *Governments?* The *ancient Laws* will not ſerve their turns; and therefore muſt be aboliſh'd, to make way for the Introduction of *New* ones; even a *Hundred* for *One* too: So true is *that* of *Plato*, to *abrogate* old Laws, *is to cut off the Head of an* Hydra. Remove ye any of the *main Pillars* in a *Building*, and the whole *Fabrick* falls to the ground: Even ſo the *Change* of *One Fundamental* in a *State*, is, for the moſt part, attended with the *Deſtruction* of *all* the *reſt.* Oh! the horrid *Confuſions* that are uſually *Conſequential* to ſuch Proceedings! Nay at the very beſt, *mutation* of Government *does ever include the* greater Evil: And therefore have all able *Stateſmen* ſo unanimouſly contended againſt ſuch *Innovaſions. Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* (a Prince of exquiſite *abilities* in the *Art* of *Governing*) would, with his **Es macht bewbegung**, ſtill be thwarting theſe *State-Projects:* Implying by the Expreſſion, that *Magiſtrates* ought to be particularly careful in their Proviſions againſt things that tend to ſtirring of *Commotions*, and *Jogging* of *Publick Humours*; which are *rais'd* in a *moment*, but *ſettle* not rightly upon their *Lees* again, in a *whole Age.*

Innovation *in* Fundamentals, *by all means to be eſchew'd.*

A Reprehension of all seditious Outcries *for undue* Reformation.

SOCRATES, upon the very Entrance into his *Politicks*, baniſh'd all *Poets* his *City*. And it were to be *wiſh'd* at leaſt, that all the *Sons* of the *Miniſtry* would duly reflect upon the *Duties* of their *Function*; for then they might eaſily diſcover *State-matters* to be utterly *Foreign* to *Their* buſineſs: So that they would more vigorouſly intend the *Preaching* of the *Word* upon the Subjects of *Faith* and *Repentance*, *Charity* and *Obedience*. "What have we to do "(*they would ſay*) with the *Actions* of *Princes*, or with *De*"*ſcants* upon the Conveniences or Diſadvantages of *Civil* "*Sanctions*, and *Forms* of *Rule*? Let *Monarchs* Enact *Laws* "for the Reſtraint and Puniſhment of the *Profligate* and "*Mutinous*, and ſecure the *Publick Tranquility* by *Courts* "of *Juſtice*, and *Examples* of *Terrour*. They would underſtand the *Text*, *The Kings of the Gentiles exerciſe authority, but it ſhall not be ſo with You*; to be an expreſs *Prohibition* of all *indirect Endeavours* toward the *annulling* of *Humane Ordinances*, and of *Uſurpations* upon the *Rights* of *Princes*. "Our *Duty* (*they would cry*) is *humbly* to "*ſubmit* to them, *our ſelves*, and to teach the like *Obedi*"*ence* unto *others*. In ſo doing, we ſhall trace the *Exam*"*ple* of our bleſſed *Saviour* and his *Apoſtles*, who *repeal'd* "none of the *Roman Laws*; nor intermedled in *Caſes* De"rogatory from the *Juriſdiction* of *Common-Wealths*; but "ſpent their days in Communicating to the *Faithful*, the "knowledge of the *True God*.——But upon this *Theme* I have been more *copious* in another place.

That the Goſpel approves of Civil Ordinances.

IT is not every one that has the *Grace* to build upon that *Eternal Righteouſneſs* which the *Goſpel* recommends: So that the *Univerſal Good* neceſſarily requires an Eſtabliſhment of ſuch *other* Methods of *Diſcipline*, as may be

be effectual to correct the Licentious *Outrages* of the *Diſobedient*. Now as the *Goſpel* well enough likes of *Tillage*, *Architecture*, and all other *Crafts*, of immediate relation to *Humane Welfare*; can it be imagin'd that it ſhould refuſe its *Approbation* to ſuch *Ordinances*, and *Political Conſtitutions*, as are Conſentaneous to the Dictates of *Right Reaſon*? No ſurely! But it is the *Divine's* Province to clear *this* matter; that ſo neither the *Magiſtrate*, nor the *Subject*, may plead *ignorance* of their reſpective *Charges*. *Princes* are to hold, that they were plac'd in thoſe *High Stations* by the Hand of the *Almighty*, to *whom* they are continually to apply themſelves for *aſſiſtance*, and to reſpect *his Glory* in all their *Conſultations*. The *People* are enjoyn'd a *Faith*, that as this *Terreſtrial Globe*, the *Refulgent Body* of the *Sun*, the *fertility* of the *Earth* for the nouriſhment of its *Creatures*, and the conſtant *ſucceſſion* of the *Seaſons*, were made, and conſtituted, and do ſtill ſubſiſt by the *Virtue* of an *Omnipotent Being*: So by the ſame *Immortal Power* do *Kings* Reign, as *Gods Subſtitutes*; and *Laws* are Enacted for the benefit of *Mankind*. Nay, mark it well, and a more *Immediate Providence* may be obſerv'd in the *preſervation* of *States*, than in the *ſupport* of *Nature* her ſelf. For how were it poſſible for a *Politique Body* to bear long up againſt the rage of *Satan*, and the inveterate Perſecutions of his *Miſcreant Agents*, unleſs by a conſtant *Flux* of Heavenly *Influence*, ſecur'd from *Diſſolution*? By this now it is evident, that the *Almighty* Eſpouſes the *Protection* of *Governments*; owns *them*, and the *juſt Vengeance* which the *Prince* inflicts, to be truly *his*. By *I have ſaid ye are* Gods, (in the *Pſalmiſt*) plainly appears, that *Kings* are of his own *appointment*: *I have* ſaid, implying as much as, *I have* made *them*: And *ye are Gods*, refers to, and denotes the *Divinity* of their *Office*, as *God's Vicars*. *S. Paul* alſo, *Rom.* 13. declares *Civil Ordinances* to be a *good thing*.

WERE but theſe *Truths* rightly inſtill'd into the minds

minds of the *People*; How would they enhance a *Veneration* for the *present Laws* and *Law-givers*? and instead of *Precarious*, (which *some* do impiously suggest *it* to be) found *Obedience*, according to *Holy-Writ*, upon *Obligations* of *Conscience*.

Advice to the Ambitious.

O H! the Wretched *State* of *those* Men, that sacrifice their *Quiet* to their *Ambition*; that compass *Sea* and *Land* to gain their *End*; and that know no *other measure* of things *Just* and *Honest*, than as they *more* or *less* administer to the *Gratification* of their *Desires*! If neither the *Writings* of the *Fathers*, nor the *Examples* of many *Great* but *Unfortunate* Men, are sufficient to work in them a *Reformation*: At least let them hear *Demosthenes* upon *this subject*, crying out, *If I could renew my youth, and be certain of arriving at the* Highest Offices *over and above*; *yet would I rather chuse to be my own Executioner, than concern my self again in any Publick Administrations.* Nay, let them further *seriously* weigh it, that although *God* is ready, in time of *Danger*, to *help* such as are *Lawfully* call'd forth to so eminent a *Station*; yet cannot those, who, by *Illegal means*, do Grasp and Usurp *Authority*, be able to promise to themselves any such *protection*.

On the first Book of Aristotle's Politicks.

AS *Private Manners* are the *subject* of *Ethicks*, which from *Nature* infer the Reasons of *Virtue*: So *Policy* disputes of *Civil Society*, and the *Duties* of it; deducing its *Causes* from *Natural Principles*.

FIRST; *Aristotle* draws the *Original* of *Society* from the Coupling of *Man* and *Woman* in *Wedlock*: *Hence* a *Family*; and from *That* a *City*.

THEN; From the Faculty of *Speech*, which were *useless*, but for mutual *Commerce*; and from that Rule,

Nature

Nature makes nothing in Vain; he concludes, That *Man is inclin'd to* Society *as well through motions of* Nature *as of* Profit.

HE then ſubjoins an *Encomium* of *Civil Society*; in words to *This* purpoſe: "The *firſt Inſtitutor* of *Society* and "*Government*, was thereunto induced both by *Reaſon* and "*Neceſſity*: For as *Man* (in his *Natural Perfection*) is the "Nobleſt of *Creatures*; ſo diveſted of *Law* and *Juſtice*, he "is infinitely the moſt *pernicious*. For all the Salvage "*Outrages* imaginable (we ſee) do commonly attend upon "a malicious and depraved *Will*, poſſeſs'd of Power. *Man's* "*Natural Weapons* are *Prudence* and *Virtue*; which yet "are frequently *abus'd* to *ends* never intended by the *firſt* "*beſtower* of them. Without *Virtue Man* is the moſt *cruel* "and *ſenſual* of *Bruits*; only by *Natural*, or *Habitual Ju-* "*ſtice*, he is reclaim'd into *Gentleneſs* and *Civility*.

I HAVE often hinted, That if it were barely for his *Method* ſake, (in which he is ſingularly excellent) *Ariſtotle* is worthy to be read and noted; becauſe from *him* only (I think) is to be learn'd the *skill* of digeſting our *Thoughts* into an exact and graceful *order*.——— Now as other *Arts* do proceed from certain *Principles* diſcoverable by *Natural Light*, (as in *Geometry*, (for inſtance) the whole is *ever* bigger *than any one Part*; *things* equal, *as to any* third, *are alſo* equal *among* themſelves, *&c.*) ſo neither is this *Art* without its *Fundamentals* deriv'd from the *End* or *Being* of *Man*. *Viz.*

The Principles *of* Policy *are deriv-ed from the* Nature *of* Man.

Man *is by* Nature *prone to* Society.
The firſt ſtring of Society *is the* Lawful Conjunction *of* Man *and* Wife.

TO *theſe* he ſubjoins *others*. As,

The Reſult of this Society *is a* Family, *conſiſting of* Parents,

Parents, Children, and Servants.
In a Community ſome *muſt neceſſarily* Command, *and* others Obey.

FROM *Nature* likewiſe he derives the Cauſes of *Rule* and *Subjection*. "For as *ſome* Members of the *Body* (*ſays* "*he*) are made for *Servitude*; *Others* for *Direction*: So ought "the *wiſer* ſort of a *Corporation* to be advanc'd, and the "*weaker* to *ſhrowd* themſelves under their *Patronage*.

Command and *Obedience* are according to *Nature*. The *Ground* of *Civil Laws*.

BY the way, let me obſerve to you the wonderful *Ingenuity* of this *Paſſage*; where, by a *Survey* of the *Natural*, he ſo pertinently diſcuſſes the *Cauſes* of *Superiority* and *Subjection* in the *Body Politick*: for having laid open the *Original* of *Society*, he might thence fairly have proceeded to treat of *Government*; as intimating by that *Tranſition* the impoſſibility of a *Community*'s ſupporting it ſelf, without the benefit of ſome *form* of *Civil Regimen*: And alſo, that as it is *Natural Impulſe* that prompts us to the *Cultivating* of *Commerce*; ſo are *Command* and *Obedience* the *Legitimate Iſſue* of certain *ſecret Cauſes*, in the *Nature* of *Man*. Now it is the work of a *Philoſopher* to remarque, and Comment upon ſuch *common Rules* as are ingraven in the *Breaſt* of *Nature*. *Theſe*, *Rhetoricians* term *Theſes*; becauſe, *they* being *ſuppos'd*, many *other* things do *follow* of Courſe. *Civil Laws* are the Reſult of ſuch *Poſitions*; as *Hypotheſes* to them: (For Example:) *Man cannot ſubſiſt without* Society: *Nor* Society *be maintain'd, without* Politique Order: *Therefore are* Laws *eſtabliſh'd, for the preſerving of the* Publique Peace, *and the* Magiſtrates Authority, *Inviolable*.

The *Law* of *Nature* is a *Divine Law*, and ſo are the *Effects* of *it*, with Diſtinction.

BEFORE I go any further, let me caution you to obſerve, that the *Law* of *Nature* is truly a *Divine Law*: And that *all Decrees* relating to the Cheriſhing of *Mutual Commerce*, by ſound *Conſequence* deducible from *Nature*, are worthy

worthy the *Reverence* of *Divine Laws*; and as ſuch, their *Authority* ought to be *valu'd*. For as the *Eye* is Illuminated from *Above*; Even ſo is *Reaſon* alſo influenc'd with ſuch a *Beam* of *Heavenly Light*, as Capacitates it to Diſcern things *neceſſary* to the *ſupport* of *Humane Life*. But hence is in no wiſe to be inferr'd yet, that all the *Dreams* of *Philoſophers* are to be reſpected as *Oracles*: For we muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt things deliver'd upon *good ground*, and the *contrary*, by the *Rules* of *Logique*: And what we find to proceed from *Categorical* Concluſions, to paſs an *Eſtimate* accordingly upon it. The *Stoiques*, and *Others*, do Cavil upon many Ridiculous *Points*; Nay, and there are, even in *Phyſiques*, and *Architecture*, ſundry weak *Aphoriſms*, which, upon due *Examination*, have been juſtly Exploded.— But I ſhall now return to *Conſider* this *Profitable* place in *Ariſtotle*. Having from the *Parts* of *Man*'s *Body*, drawn an *Emblem* of *Sovereignty*, and *Subjection*; he gather'd from it *Two Kinds* of *Dominion*; from which, as from *Fountains*, the ſeveral *Forms* of *Rule* and *Obedience*, which the *Lawyers* ſum up, might be Deriv'd.

THE *Firſt Kind* he calls *Deſpotique*: Paralell whereunto is the *Power* of a *Maſter* over his *Slave*, or of the *Soul* over the *Body*. For as the Body is Void of any *Natural Self-Motion*, and ſway'd by the *Influence* of the *Soul*: So does the *Slave*, as not at his *Own Diſpoſal*, entirely ſubmit to the *will* of his *Maſter*. Thus *Halter'd Brutes* do neceſſarily follow their *Leaders*: And upon this Score perhaps it was, that the witty *Greeks* would have δεσπότης to be of the *ſame Signification* with δεσμῶτης, *to bind with Fetters*. From *this Sort* does Iſſue the moſt *Abſolute* and *Tyrannical* of *Governments*; where the *Prince* is under no *Reſtriction* of *Law*, but *Deſtroyes* and *Saves*, at *Pleaſure*. Thus *Arbitrary* were the *Kings* of the Ancient *Barbarians*: And ſo, at this day, is the *Grand Segniour*; the *Turks* paying a *Brutal Submiſſion* to what ever That *Tyrants Luſt* impoſes upon them.

Deſpotical Authority *compar'd to* that *of a* Maſter *over his* Slave.

Kingly Government *defin'd; and compar'd to the* Power *of the* Mind *over the* Appetite.

THE *Other Kind* he terms *Kingly* or *Civil*; where the *Prince* Submits to *Govern* by *Law*. A *Reſemblance* of *This* we may find in the *Command* which the *Mind* exerciſes over the *Appetite*; *Moderate*; not *Raſh*, or Irregularly *Coercive*. From *This* do flow thoſe *well temper'd Forms* of *Regiment* which we ſhall Amplify upon in the *Third Book*.—Now, by what has been ſayd, we may collect, that, The *Duties* of *Government* do conſiſt in providing for the *Welfare*, and *Security* of the *Subject*: Even as the *Appetite* is directed by the *Mind* to the *Choice* of ſuch things as may contribute to the *Health* of the *Whole Body*. He *next* brings in that Vulgar Maxim, *Men of the* Cleareſt Merit, *ought Naturally to preſide over the more*-Unworthy. Take notice here, that he *ſhapes* his *Model* of a *City*, according to the *Patern* of a *Family*: The *Authority* of a *Maſter* over his *ſlave*, in his *Oeconomical Diſcourſes*, he makes to be *Deſpotical*; over his *Children*, *Kingly*; and over his *Wife*, *Civil*; which is a *Temperate ſort* of *Regality*.

Ariſtotle's *Aſſertion of* Natural Bondage *how to be underſtood. With* Reflections *upon the* Libertines *of our times.*

SOME have undertaken to cenſure *Ariſtotle*, for ſaying that there are *Slaves* by *Nature*; when-as the *Civilians* ſpeak of *Bondage* as a *Contrary* to it; and will have all to be *Free* from the *Beginning*. But this *Contradiction* may thus be ſalv'd: *Ariſtotle* has reſpect to the *Cauſe*; *They* to the *Effect*, or a certain *Form* of *Servitude*. With *Him*, *Bondage* is an *Impotency of the Mind*, that *Naturally* requires the *Tuition* of *Another*: But *They* underſtand by it *the Condition of the* Conquer'd, *under the laſh of the* Victor. Now *Ariſtotle* oppoſes thoſe that would have *his ſort* of *Bondage* to be *againſt Nature*, when the *Cauſe* of it (*Incapacity*) is purely *Natural*: Nay, and adviſes the reclaiming of ſuch diſtemper'd Perſons, by perſwaſion or otherwiſe; as may moſt conduce to the Publick Good: *For who would not approve* (he adds) *the lancing or lopping off of a* putrify'd Limb, *to ſecure the* Body *from a* Gangrene? But to paſs over that *Reaſonable Inference* from a *Survey* of

of the respective *Members* of *Man's Body*; I mean, *the more* Perfect *have a kind of* Natural Preheminence *over the more* Infirm; without applying it to this purpose; which yet might pertinently enough be done: What can be more *Expres* in favour of this *Assertion* of *Natural Bondage*, than the *Fifth Commandment*; *Honour thy Father and Mother*? It is not therefore without *Reason*, that the *Philosopher* reprehends the *Intemperance* of a great many, who being transported with an inordinate *Thirst* after I know not what *Phantom*, which they call *Liberty*; do extravagate in their *Invectives* against that *Subjection* which the *Law* of *Nature* both approves of and commands. And this *Reproach* will also inevitably fall upon the *Sectaries* of *Our* Times; who do make use of the *same* wretched *Pretence* with the *Other*, to inveagle the Unwary *Multitude* into *Disobedience*; and affirm *Subjection* to *Princes* to be repugnant to the *Gospel*. But let me tell These men, and all the *World* too, that the *Gospel* has not abolish'd the *Fifth Commandment*: and is so far from *Disallowing*, that (contrarily) it positively *asserts Rule* and *Obedience*, as the *only* means to preserve *Peace* among *Mankind*; and the *Universe* from *Destruction*: Enjoining its *Professors* a deference to all *Civil Sanctions*, as the *Gifts* and *Blessings* of the *King of Kings*.

ARISTOTLE now falls again upon *Oeconomy*: *First Defining* a *Family*; and, *Then* proceeding to a *Provision* for the *Support* of it. In order hereunto, he propounds *Three* several ways: *One* of them *Natural*; and the *Other two* the Product of *Invention*. *Several ways for maintaining a* Family.

THE *Natural* he makes to consist of *Grasiery*, *Tillage*, and *Hunting*: He subjoins *Plundering* too; which *Nature* (he says) perfectly abhors in any other Case than that of *Lawful Wars*; which the *Corruption* of the *World* has introduc'd a *Necessity* of, for the securing to every *The* Natural *ways threefold.*

man his *Right*, againſt *Incroachments*.

Traffique; what kind of it *Natural*.

THEN he ſuggeſts *Traffique* as a *Fourth Branch* of this *Root*; by which, with the *Overplus* of our *Own Growth*, we ſupply our ſelves, from *Abroad*, with what we have *Occaſion* for. This way of *Bartering*, he terms *Family-Traffique*, and prefers it to the Uſe of *Money*, as more Eminently contributing to the *Neceſſities* of *Human Welfare*. Such Methods of *Merchandizing* are now, in *Germany*, obſerv'd by Men of *Note* only; to whom, any *other* is accounted *Diſhonourable*.

The *Artificial* ways. *Retailing* Cenſur'd.

UNDER the *Head* of *Invention*, or *Art*, he Couches *Skill* and *Induſtry*, (with all the *Effects* of them) which we ought not to be ſparing of. The *Craft* of *Retailing*, (the main Proſpect whereof is *Gain*,) he reckons upon as *Mechanical* and *Servile*; Objecting againſt it as *Infamous*, becauſe it tends to the *Grievance* of the *Neceſſitous*; by ſubſtituting a *Falſe*, and ſcandalous *Third* End of Commerce (*Lucre*) to the *Two Genuine* ones, *Uſe*, and *Neceſſity*.

Uſury condemn'd, as *Unnatural*.

ARISTOTLE places *Uſury* among the Inventions of Art too, for the maintenance of a *Family*; but yet taxes it as *Unnatural*; in regard the *Original Deſign* of *Money* was not that it ſhould beget it's *Like*; but only to be a *Medium* for determining the Value of each *Commodity*. Now *Uſury*, on the other ſide, is a kind of *Exciſe* upon the *Borrower*: Or, a *Spell* over and above the *Principal*, in conſideration of the *Loan* of it. His *Own* words, ſo often quoted by *Authors*, are of this purport: "*Uſury* (ſays he) "is juſtly Cenſur'd, becauſe Oppoſite to the *Primitive End* "for which *Money* was Coyn'd; which was *Convenience* "in *Traffique*, and not *Self-increaſe*: But here, *Mony* begets "*Mony*. *Uſury* is term'd *Fœnus* by the *Latins*, becauſe "*Off-ſprings* do moſtly Reſemble their *Begetters*. Where- "fore this way of ſcraping Wealth, is to be deem'd, of all "others, the moſt contrary to *Nature*. To this, *Learned*

men

men have added other *Arguments*. As *First*; Where the *Uſe* of any thing is the *Conſumption* of it; the *Uſe* is inſeparable from the *Thing* it ſelf. But in *this Caſe* the *Uſe* is wholly diſtinct from the *Subſtance*: Therefore, againſt *Nature*. And *again*, Things naturally *Barren*, ought not to be eſteem'd *Fruitiferous*. But *Uſury* requires Gratifications for *Mony*, as *Fructiferous*, tho' in its *own Nature* it be intirely deſtitute of any *ſuch Quality*: Therefore—— But yet in letting out of a *Farm*, 'tis Juſt to expect a Reaſonable allowance for't; becauſe *Ground* is *Frugiferous*.

Uſury ought not to be made a *Trade* of, among *Chriſtians*.

TO thoſe *Modern Writers* who ſtart the *Queſtion*, *whether a Chriſtian may lawfully put out Mony to Uſe*; I briefly anſwer, That as *Chriſtians* do partake of the Benefit of other *Political Eſtabliſhments*: ſo may they ſafely make ſuch *Bargains* and *Contracts*, as the *Laws* do adjudge to be *Honeſt*. Now 'tis true, that the *Old Imperial Laws* permitted *Uſury*; but yet they never undertook for the *Honeſty* of it. And who is ſo weak as not to underſtand the Difference of a *Toleration*, and an *Approbation*? It is no more to be expected that the *Laws* ſhould extirpate *all Evils* out of a *State*, than that a *Phyſician* ſhould cure *all Diſeaſes*: But as *he* prohibits any *Medicines* at all, in ſome *Diſtempers*, for fear of *Irritation*: Even ſo is *Policy* fain to diſſemble with ſuch *Vices* as having been Authoriz'd by *Antient Cuſtom*, are not removable, but at Great *hazzards*. I am indeed wholly againſt a *Chriſtians* Trading in *Uſury*; and would adviſe him to any *other* Courſe of Life, that is *Commendable*. There are yet another *ſort* of *People*, that ſpend themſelves in *Tragical Declamations* againſt the common ways of *Contracting*, in uſe amongſt *us*. But alas! Theſe *Forward* men do not conſider, that *Cenſures* and *Judgments* of this *quality* are not for *private Perſons*, or *Preachers*, to concern themſelves in; but do fall under the Peculiar *Cognizance* of the *Magiſtrate*; from whom, what

what is allowable in *this matter*, is to be learn'd; and whose *Sentence* is *Definitive* in all *such* affairs. But Preachers are more especially blame-worthy, for intermedling in these kind of Bus'nesses; And much the more so, if they pronounce *Determinations* contrary to the *sense* of the *Laws*: It being their Duty to Preach up a *Religious Observation* of them; and that all *Bargains* are *Just*, which *Authority* declares so to be. For when the Reverence and Dignity of the *Law* comes once to be impair'd by such Unwarrantable Proceedings, Endless Tumults, and Confusions do inevitably ensue, in a *Commonwealth*. But neither yet, on the other side, are the *Laws* to be constru'd in an *Over-rigorous*, but in an *Equitable Sense*, with Indulgence (now and then) to *particular Seasons*, and *Cases*. For things that are *Just* are bottom'd upon a *Mean*; which issues from *Amicable* and *Healing Principles*. And where *Positive Reasons* are wanting, *Probabilities* ought to satisfie: *Extreme Justice being the most Inhumane of all Injuries.*

On the Second Book of POLITIQUES.

THE *Second Book* is mostly taken up with an *Historical* Account of the divers *Frames* of *Policy*, Extant in the *Author's* time: And *begins* with *Plato's*; who makes *Socrates* to be a Favourer of his *Model*; which *Levels all* things (not Excepting *Wives* and *Children*) *in Common*. Now *Aristotle* produces Arguments to prove the *Impracticableness*, and Unnatural *Drift* of this *Doctrine*. I all along design'd the *Reader* this *Advertisement*, which I would have him both Relye upon, and Consider; *Viz.* that the *Division* of *Substance* into *Property*, and the *Institution* of *Matrimony*, are the *Ordinances* of God, which all the Power of *Man* is as Incapable of Evacuating, as of altering

altering the *Seasons*; Summer, Winter; Night, Day; the Courſe of the *Sun*, or the Motions of the *Planets*. And an *Ignorant* ſort of People there are, that Phanſying *Providence* to have no hand in the Eſtabliſhment, or Conſervation of *Governments*; and taking Offence at ſome ſlight Inconveniences therein; will needs be buſying themſelves in forging *new Forms* of *Regiment*, and crying down the *Old*, upon a Pernicious *Opinion* that *Governments* are *alterable*, according to the *Caprichoe* of *private men*. This *Errour* ought forthwith to be abandon'd by every *good Chriſtian*, and a firm *Belief* entertained in its ſtead, that the *Almighty* Eminently *ſuperintends* in all *States*: And that the *preſent Government* Eſtabliſh'd, is *Immutable*, upon pain of *His* High *Diſpleaſure*.

RIGHTLY now does *Ariſtotle* judge, that the *Diviſion* of things into *Propriety*, is agreeable to *Nature*: And the *Civilians*; that *It is a Branch of the* Law *of* Nations. But the Inconſiſtency of *Plato's Inſtitutions* with *Right Reaſon*, is palpably manifeſt: For as *Murther* is an *Abomination* to *Nature*; ſo does *Reaſon* Evince *Promiſcuous Copulation* (as diametrically Oppoſite to *Wedlock*) to be Brutiſhly *Unnatural*. For an *Incertainty* of *Off-ſpring* muſt needs be the Conſequence to a *Prohibition* of *Marriage*; and therefore an *Incertainty* of *Childrens* Maintenance, and Education. Beſides, if the *Iſſue* be *Uncertain*, there can be no diſtinction of *Blood*, or reſpect to *Conſanguinity*. All this *Nature* utterly abhors; and the *Scripture* ſays, *A man ſhall leave his* Father *and* Mother, *and cleave to his* Wife, *&c.*

Objections to *Plato's Politiques*, that recommend a *Community* of all things.

THERE is the ſame facility of *Proof* in the matter of *Partition*, alſo. For if it be true (as daily Experience proves it to be) that *Idle People* would never take pains for a *Livelihood*, if their Neceſſities were ſupply'd out of the

Propriety, agreeable to Nature.

the *Common Stock*; If it be true that the *Covetous* and *Ambitious*, by ſeizing upon the Poſſeſſions of the *Weaker*, would be continually Violating the *Bonds* of ſuch a *Community*, and filling every Corner with Confuſion, and Bloodſhed: the Reaſons for *getting* an *Eſtate*, and for laying *all in Common*, cannot but be Vaſtly Diſproportionable. Since now we are born with *Paſſions* and *Appetites* of all kinds; How were it poſſible for *Humane Nature* to Subſiſt, without the wholeſom *Effects* of this *Diviſion* of *Subſtance!* With ſuch like Irrefragable Arguments does he Obviate *Plato's Opinions* upon this *Subject:* And yet have not theſe Monſtrous *Abſurdities* been without their *Favourers*, even in *Our* Times; and ſome of them *Divines* too, (but ſuch as were Unſound, and wholly given up to *Novelties*) that have not ſtuck to affirm *all things* to lye in *Common* by *Divine Right*. An *Errour* the moſt Groſs, and Unhappy, imaginable! For upon the admittance of ſuch a *Poſition*, can we ever hope to keep *Clear* of thoſe wretched *Bigotts*, that blindly fall upon the *ſerving* of *Satan*, for *God ſake*; by invading the *Rights* of their *Neighbours*, and propagating Diſtractions, Rapins, and Calamities, where-e're they get *footing?* Now how a *Tenet* productive of ſuch horrid *Impieties* can be Conſonant to the *Peace-breathing Inſpirations* of the *Holy Goſpel*; that Commands *Obedience* to *Political Conſtitutions*, and prohibits *Theft*, as a *Mortal* ſin; I defie the moſt *Partial Admirer* of this *Doctrine*, to Determine. But if now, on the *other* hand, we caſt our Eye upon the Advantages Iſſuing from *Propriety*; and withall conſider the *Diſtinct.* 8. of the *Decretals*; *Viz.* "By means of *Kings* and *Rulers* upon "*Earth*, the *Almighty* has vouchſaf'd to *Mankind* the Bleſ- "ſing of *Laws*, and *Government:* to any Unprejudic'd Perſon there will appear ſufficient *Ground* for the ſupport of this *Warrantable Poſition*; *Property, and Diviſion of Subſtance, is of Evangelical Eſtabliſhment.*

SOME

SOME there are, I know, that have endeavour'd to qualifie the *Harſhneſs* of this *Vote* for a *Community of all things*; by appropriating it to the *State* of the *World* before *Natural Corruption*. But alas! what can this ſorry *ſubterfuge* make againſt *Us*, or advantage *Them*, ſhould it be granted? For we are diſcourſing of the *preſent Condition* of things, under *Original ſin*. Beſide that not one of all the *Ancient Lawyers* ever pleaded *Natural Right* in favour of any ſuch kind of *Community*: But are *Poſitive*, on the *other* hand, that *what in the Beginning was* No bodies, *Nature beſtow'd upon the* Firſt Poſſeſſour. So that *Property* is moſt evidently agreeable to *Right Reaſon*; and *that*, is, the *Law* of *Nature*. This may ſerve as an *Antidote* againſt the Infectious Influence of this Pernicious *Policy*, which might otherwiſe, probably, prevail upon the *Unſteady*, and *Inconſiderate*, to their *Undoing*. Let me add this further; That 'tis one of the moſt Glorious *Excellencies* of our Chriſtian *Profeſſion*, that of a Reverential *Conformity* to the *Civil Eſtabliſhments* of the *Kingdom*: And that all ſuch *Principles* and *Practices* as tend to affect the *Publique Peace*, are an *Abomination* to the *Lord of Hoſts*. To thoſe now that by pretences of *Divine Right* do zealouſly cry up this *Community* of *all things*; Object the *Eighth Commandment*; *Thou ſhalt not* Steal: For by this *Precept* every one has confirm'd to him the *lawful Enjoyment* of his *own Poſſeſſions*. If the *Goſpel* be alledg'd to the ſame purpoſe; lay before them *Rom.* 13. where *S. Paul* affirms, that all *Legal Inſtitutions* are *Gods Ordinances*. And if they ſhall plead the *Law* of *Nature*, anſwer them with the *Dictates* of *Right Reaſon*, which ſuggeſt the *Impracticableneſs* of ſuch a *Project*: Becauſe the *Sluggard* would then *live* upon the *Labour* of the *Induſtrious*; directly againſt *Nature's Law*, contained in theſe words, By *the ſweat of thy Brows ſhalt thou eat thy Bread.*

Plato's Community Unnatural and Impracticable. *Arguments* againſt the preſent *Favourers* of it.

The danger of *Innovating*, in matters of *Government*: And the *Imperfections* of them, to be patiently born with.

AFTER *Aristotle* has given an *accompt* of the *Political Constitutions* of several *States*; (all which are Obvious in *History*) he comes then to speak of *Alteration* of *Laws*; which (though they should be somewhat *Inconvenient*) he is yet against any *Rash Innovation* in. In t is *Point* now, all *wise men* do agree with him: Because (as *Ulpian* says well) there ought to be an *Apparent Prospect* of *advantage* to *Counterballance* the *hazard* of the *Change*. *Demosthenes* writes, that the *People* of *Locris* obliged all their Projectors of *Laws*, to offer their *Proposals*, with *Ropes* about their Necks; that in case the *Bills* were not approved of, all such *New-fangled Maggots* might be immediately hang'd out of the way. And *Herodotus* says, that no *Honest* man will *undervalue* the *Government* of his *Own* Country; because our *Natural Affection* for it, is so Insuperable; that had we the Liberty of *Choice* in the case, we should still prefer *it's Policy* to *that* of any *Forreign* one, though never so much the *Better*. Hither may be also apply'd *Ec.* 10. which amplifies upon this *Theme*; and compares the *New-moulding* of a *State*, to the plucking up of a *Hedge*: where the *One* opens a Passage for all manner of *Vermin* to creep into the *Garden*: the *Other* Capacitates the *Loose*, and *Disaffected*, to Undermine, and subvert the whole *Political Machine*. A *Salve* to this *Sore*, I know none better; than a *Religious Assurance* of *God's Over-ruling* in the *Establishment* of *Governments*, and *Laws*; to which, *Obedience* is as Indispensably *necessary*, as is any *other Christian Duty* whatsoever. If it be demanded how far the *Extravagances* of *Laws* may be dissembled, *Aristotle* resolves the *Question*, in his *Ethiques*; where he teaches, that *Laws* ought to be founded upon *Right Reason*; to which, if any should happen to be so directly repugnant, as to administer to the *Vitiating* of *Nature*, all such ought to be abolished: But to be born with, on the *other* side, if the *Grievances* occasioned by such *Deviations*, be not

Insup-

Insupportable. For as a *Left-handed* man should not, to his certain prejudice, be compelled to the Contrary *Custom*; So neither ought *Laws* to be instantly Chang'd, because they run not in the *Visible Track* of *Nature*. And as *Physicians*, in their Applications to a *Distemper*, are particularly careful of not fretting the *Ill Humours* of the *Body*; So are there certain *Infirmities* in a *State*, that will not endure the *Lancet*, but are only to be redress'd by *Patience*. I have been the more *Express* upon this *Subject*; for that 'tis worth a mans while to be thoroughly inform'd in the *Necessity* of bearing with the *Weaknesses* and *Imperfections* of *Governments*.

On the Third Book of Politiques.

ARISTOTLE, the best Contriver of *Method*, having observ'd all *Sciences* to be supported upon the *Basis* of *Common Principles*; deriv'd the Original of his *Political Institutions* from the *Natural Propensity* of *Man* to *Society*: Of this *Society*, *Marriage* is the *first* Instance: Then comes on a *Family*; and from *That* proceeds a Necessity of *Command*, and *Obedience*. Having driven the matter thus far; he then perceiv'd, that a *City* would be the *Result* of a Connexion or Combination of *Families*.

PROPERTY, and *Partition*, are the *Subjects* of his *Second Book*. In these *Principles*, now, are Comprehended a *Scheme* of the whole *Political Art*.

AS to the Bus'ness of this his *Third Book*; it is, to *Define* a *City*, and a *Citizen*; and to set down the several *Forms* of *Regiment*, that have, at any time, been *adopted* into any *State*. By the way, let me admonish the *Reader* to contemplate the *Profit* of these *Discourses*: *Some* where-

of furniſh Inſtructions for the *Menage* of *Trade*; *Others*, for the Deciſion of *Controverſies*: And in his *Readings* let him alſo collect *Notes* out of each particular *Art*, and apply them to the ſervice of the *Commonwealth*, and of his own *Private*.— But to *Reſume* my *Purpoſe*.

A *City* defin'd. And

A CITY, *is a Body of Men, in proſpect of Mutual advantage, and ſecurity, Incorporated by a Law.*

A *Citizen.*

A CITIZEN, *is a Deniſon of this Society; and capable of bearing Office in the Government of it.*

THE *Publique Weal* ſhould be the Chief Aim of every *Individual*: As the *ſafety* of the *Veſſel* is the *Care* of all the *Mariners*, however diverſifi'd, and diſtinguiſh'd, in their *Stations*.

Policy; what it is.

POLICY, *is the Sanction of Legal Ordinances, as a Chard to* Authority, *and* Obedience, *in the Government of a Commonwealth.*

Policy is either *Sound*, or *Corrupt*; The *Sound* may be Branch'd into *Three Diviſions*.

I. MONARCHY; Or, *The Supremacy of a* Single *Perſon, in the Adminiſtration of a State, in order to the Publique Benefit.*

The *Corruption* of this *Form*, is the *Generation* of *Tyranny*: And it happens, when the *Common Good* is forc'd to Truckle under *Private Intereſt*.— The ſeveral *Kinds* of *Kingly Government* ſhall be exhibited, in another place.

II. ARISTOCRACY; Or, *The Superiority of a* few *Able, Wealthy, and Honourable Members, in Civil Tranſactions, over the whole Body Politique.*

Of this *ſort*, is the *Government* of *Noremberg*: And the *Degeneration* of it is term'd *Oligarchy*; where the *Publique*

Trea-

Treasure is drain'd into the *Coffers* of a Ravenous, and Incroaching *Party*. Thus far'd it with *Rome* (of Old) under *Sylla*: And not much better, is the *present state* of the *Commonwealth* of *Erfort*.

III. DEMOCRACY; Or, *The People's keeping the Supreme Authority in their Own hands.*

The *Depravation* of this *kind*, may be call'd *Anarchy*; Or (according to some) *Democracy* still: when the *Populace* do support their *Creatures*, to curb, and Lord it, over the *Nobility*. This *Model* the *Bores* aim'd at in their *Tumults* in *Germany*: And much alike, is the Regimen of the *Helvetians*.

HERE it is usually controverted, which of these *Forms*, is the Best. Doubtless *Monarchy* is, if the Judgment of *Homer*; or of the *Persian Princes* (as set down by *Herodotus* in his *Third Book*) may be allow'd for *Current*.

Monarchy, the best of these *Forms*.

IN this place also, do *Modern Commentators* argue upon the Necessity of *One* man's being *Universal Monarch*, over all the *World*; And some of them, taking the thing for granted, have conferr'd the *Title* upon the *Bishop* of *Rome*; and, by a Consequential Annexion, a *Power* of disposing of *Principalities*, as the *Toy* shall take him: And all this only as an *Appendix* to his *Office* of *Viccar*-General, in which they tell you (if you'll believe them) he was invested by *Christ* himself. To the *Truth* of the *whole matter*, they fairly cite *Gratian*, as an *Evidence*. This *Error*, I suppose, took its *Rise* from the Fallacy of the *High-Priests* annointing their *Kings*, in the *Old Law*: Thence inferring, that *Kings* were beholden to *them* for their *Crowns*. Hereupon they Reason thus: The *Gospel* is not of *Particular*, but *General*, *Intent*; The *Pope* is *Chief Pastor* of

The *Pope's* Pretences to an *Universality* of *Power*, overthrown by *Scripture*.

of all the *Churches*; Therefore is his *Secular Authority* Equal to his *Spiritual*: Beſide that to *Anoynt*, (ſay they) is to *make* a *King*. Theſe are the *Arguments* by which theſe men, that know there's *skill* in *Dawbing*, do endeavour to ſupport the *Popes Right* to Summon, Chaſtiſe, and Dethrone *Princes*: Nay in truth of doing what he liſts. And upon no better grounds, the *Roman Biſhops* have often attempted upon the *Perſons* and *Dominions* of *Kings* and *Emperours*. Nay ſo miſerably have the people (by their *Implicite Faith*) been ſeduced with this Poyſonous *Doctrine*, that for a long time it has been deem'd no leſs than *Hereſie*, to queſtion whether *Both Swords* (their own *Term*) *were Peculiar to his Holineſſes Scabbard, or not*. If we do but ſearch the *Scriptures* now, *they* will learn us quite *another Leſſon*. *My Kingdom is not of this World* (ſays our *Saviour*:) And ſpeaking to his *Apoſtles*; *The Kings of the* Gentiles (ſays he) *exerciſe Authority*; *but it ſhall not be ſo with You*: And a number of other *Texts* to the ſame Purpoſe. By all which it manifeſtly appears, that *Chriſt*'s is a *Spiritual*, not a *Temporal Kingdom*; and conſiſts in Vivifying, and Directing the *Hearts* of the *Faithful*, by the *Holy Spirit*, in the way to *Salvation*; and not in aboliſhing of *Civil Sanctions*, ordain'd by *God* for the maintaining of *Concord*; and for the Puniſhment of the *Wicked*. The *Paſtours Office* is further laid down in the words, *Go, Preach the Goſpel*: For to *hold forth* the *Word*, with Integrity, to remit *Sins*, and to denounce Gods *Judgments* againſt the Incorrigible, are the proper *Branches* of his *Function*: His *Commiſſion* not extending to *Tyrannical Uſurpations* upon mens *Lives* and *Liberties*; but only to a Right Information of *Conſciences*, in reference to the *Duties* of *Repentance*, and an *Honeſt Life*. But the *Office* of a *King*, on the *other* ſide, is, to eſtabliſh *Laws*, for the Prevention, or Revenging of *Injuries*, done to the *Subject*; and to execute *Juſtice* upon all kinds of *Offenders*. All this is contained

tained in *Rom.* 13. *The Magiſtrate beareth not the Sword in vain; but for the encouragement of the well-doers*, &c. Now as *Wedlock*, however diverſifi'd from the *Goſpel*, is yet of *Gods appointment*; ſo *Empire*, though different, (it may be, from any pretended *Goſpel-Model*) is of *Divine Inſtitution* alſo. *He that ſheds Blood, by man ſhall his Blood be ſhed.* In which words (ſpoken to *Noah*) *Dominion* is confirm'd, to take *Vengeance* upon the *Violators* of *Natures Laws*. And omitting the Suggeſtions of *Right Reaſon*, in favour of *Government*; the *Fifth Commandment* is poſitive for it; by Injoyning *Obedience* to *Parents*, and *Superiours*.

THERE are *another ſort* of theſe *Creatures*, that will needs have the *Supreme Authority*, to be *Originally* in the *People*; to whom they make the *Prince* to ſtand Obliged for it; as being *Their* proper *Gift*. But this *Aſſertion* is Notoriouſly *Untrue*: For *Kings* have a *Right* to *Command*, even over the *Unwilling*: Nor does their *Title* only flow from *Election*; but ſometimes from *Hereditary Succeſſion*; or elſe from the *Reſult* of Lawful *Wars*, *Conqueſt*.

The *Supreme Power*, not Originally in the *People*.

THERE is yet one *Sect* more, of theſe *Writers*; that reckoning upon the Neceſſity of an *Univerſal Monarchy* as certain; and obſerving the *Miſcarriages* of their *Brethren*, in placing it in the *Pope*, have endeavour'd to mend the matter, by attributing this *Latitude* of *Power* to the *Roman Emperour*. And to make all ſure, ſundry *Authorities* are produc'd out of the *Bible*: As, *there went forth a Decree from* Auguſtus Cæſar, *that all the World ſhould be Taxed. Give unto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars, *&c.* But I anſwer in ſhort; That 'tis a *Rhetorical* way of *Speech*, to put the *major part* for the *whole*: For theſe words cannot be Underſtood as *Influential* upon the *Univerſe* in *General*; but to concern thoſe *Nations* only, which were at that time under the *Roman Yoke*: Nay the

The *Roman Emperour*, no *Univerſal Monarch*.

Scripture

Scripture it ſelf does elſewhere witneſs, that the time would come when this *Vaſt Body* of *Empire* ſhould be *Cantonized* into divers *Independent States*. So that it may reaſonably be *concluded*, that neither the *Emperour*, nor the *Pope*, have any juſt pretenſions to ſuch an *Univerſality* of *Dominion*. But, as there has Ever been *many*, and *Abſolute Commonwealths*, upon the Earth; ſo, at this day, is every *Monarch* entirely *Supreme*; and, within the Limits of his own *Kingdom*, *Uncontroulable* by any *Humane Power*. The *four* ſucceſſive *Empires* of the World, *Hiſtory* calls *Monarchies*: Not that they ever *had*, or *pretended* to, an *Univerſality* of *Rule*; but in reſpect only of the Large *Extent* of their *Territories*. It was the *Almightie's* pleaſure to caſt ſundry *ſmall Principalities* into *One Great Empire*; in order, poſſibly, to the more ſpeedy and Effectual *Propagation* of the *Goſpel*. We read that the *Knowledge* of the *True God*, became, on a ſudden, wonderfully ſpread over all *Perſia*, and *Aſſyria*, upon *Daniel's* being carri'd into *Chaldæa*: And the Extenſive Greatneſs of the *Roman Dominions*, gave the *Apoſtles* an opportunity, and open Paſſage, to proclaim the *Evangel* far and near. Beſide that by this means God's *Omnipotence*, (in that all the Nations of the Earth are in his *hands*, to do with them as beſt pleaſes him) became manifeſted to the *Children of men*: Nay, and his *Juſtice* too; in the Diſmembring of Mighty *Kingdoms*, as a *Judgment* upon the *People*, for their manifold *Tranſgreſſions* againſt him.

The *Prediction* of the *Fall* and *Succeſſion* of the four *Monarchies* of the *World*, only to be met with in the *Bible*.

LET it be here obſerv'd; that in the *Bible only*, the *Prediction* of the *Cataſtrophe* and *Succeſſion* of theſe ſeveral *Empires*, is to be met with. Certainly nothing can make more for the *Glory* of our *Chriſtian Profeſſion*, than the coming to paſs of thoſe *Revolutions*, at the exact time *foretold* in the *Scriptures*. Becauſe this *Conſideration* alone, is not only ſufficient to evince them to be dictated by

Gods

Gods Infallible Spirit; but that the ſame *God* is the *Sovereign Diſpoſer* of *all* things, both in *Heaven* and *Earth*. Oh! that this *Reflection* might beget in us ſuch a Reverential Deference to our *Prince*, and *Government*, as may be worthy of *Him*, the *Vicegerent*; and of *It*, the *Handy-work* of ſo *Omnipotent*, *Incomprehenſible* a *Being*.

Of the ſeveral ſorts of KINGS.

A KING (properly ſo call'd) *is a* Supremacy *of* Power, *Independent from all Earthly Authority*. Now the ſeveral *Kinds* of *Kingly Government* might, *Originally*, proceed from the diverſities of Diſpoſitions in the *Princes*; *ſome* of which merited, and preſerv'd their *Natural Right* to an *Unlimited Sovereignty*; *Others*, contented themſelves with a *Reſtrain*'d One. The *firſt* of theſe Kinds of *Regality* flouriſhed in the *Primitive Times*, when the *Princes Will* was his only *Law*; which yet he was eſpecially careful to direct, to the *Benefit* of his *People*. *Parallel* to *this*, is the *Domeſtique Authority* of a *Father* over his *Children*. This *Form* now ſeems to have much of the *Man* in't: but it is hardly practicable, I doubt, in this *Age* of *Corruption*, and *Licentiouſneſs*; For that ſuch a *Power* falling into the hands of a *Vicious Prince*, would, in all likelihood, be perverted into *Tyranny*. But *he* is rightly term'd a *Tyrant*, that *Uſurps* an *Authority*, oppoſite to the *Municipal Laws* of the *Land*; and *abuſes* it to the Oppreſſing of the *People*, and to the promoting of his *own private Deſigns*, in direct prejudice to the *Publique Intereſt*. From a frequency of ſuch *Practices*, there ſprung a *neceſſity* of providing againſt them, by the *Sanction* of wholeſome *Laws*; as a *Compaſs* for the *Magiſtrate* to Steer his Courſe by, in order to the *Publique Welfare*. By theſe means it was, that this *other* ſort of *Kingly Adminiſtration* was brought into

Being; which yet, notwithstanding the Qualifications of *Laws*, does consist of an entire *Supremacy* of *Monarchical Lustre* and *Jurisdiction*. Some *Nations* indeed, went so far, as to constitute *Guardians* to their *Kings*, to keep them within Bounds: Such were the *Ephori*, among the *Lacedemonians*, who (says *Thucydides*) were impower'd even to *Imprison* their *Princes*, if they saw occasion: But these were not *Kings* in *Effect*, but only by *Equivocation*. And yet some Resemblances of this *Platform* are discoverable in the *Constitutions* of these *Times*: For *Germany* has its *Electours*; *France* had its *Princes* in the *Court* of *Parliament*, that were, as it were, *Ephori* to their *Kings*; And some Countries have *more* of *this*, others *less*. These *Threads* however are easily broken: Neither, in truth, is it altogether *convenient* too obstinately to withstand the Princes Pleasure; who, in his *Actions*, is only accountable to that *Almighty Power* that invested him in his *Regality*; and whose Chief *Restrictions* ought to Issue from his own *Conscience*. For what a *folly* is it to exact upon a *Prince* for a *Rigorous Observation* of the *Laws*, when he does better things of his *own meer Motion*, than *they* could otherwise oblige him to? Beside the Barbarous *Ingratitude* of imploying a *Donative* to the prejudice of the *Bestower*: For what else are *Laws* (I *pray*) but so many *Acts* of *Grace* in a *King*; or *Expressions* of his *good will* to his *People*, in the admittance of their *Petitions* upon Tender; which he was free to *grant*, or *reject*, at Pleasure? The *Premises* duly consider'd, I cannot but highly commend, and approve of that *sound Policy*, express'd in the *substitution* of the *Hierarchy* of *Bishops*; who by their submissive Applications, Pious Admonitions, and Mature Counsels, might *allay*, and *smooth* the *edge* of *Monarchy*. And it may be a matter worth inquiring into, perhaps; whether the *mixture* of *Clay* and *Iron* in the *Statue* of *Daniel*, be not *Emblematical* of this *Temperature* of *Kingly Government* with *Episcopacy*.

HERE,

HERE, I remember, it uſes to be vehemently canvaſſed, whether it be *lawful* for a *Private man* to *kill* a *Tyrant*: And, whether a *Subject* may *juſtly repel* the *Illegal Violence* of his *Prince*. Since *Breach* of *Law* in the *one*, may ſeem to *Cancel* the *Obligation* of *Allegeance*, in the *other*. The *Anſwer* now is eaſie: For the *Goſpel* expreſly prohibits all *Private* Vengeance: and our *Saviour* ſays; *He that takes up the Sword, ſhall periſh by the Sword.* Therefore it muſt needs be *Impious*, and *unlawful* for a *Subject* to *kill*, or *reſiſt* his *Natural Lord*, though he Govern never ſo *Tyrannically*. Beſide that the *Stipulation*, by which the *Prince* obliges himſelf to certain *Rules* of *Adminiſtration*, is not the *main Tye* of the *Peoples Obedience*: For *they* ſtand Indiſpenſably bound by the *Command* of God, which exacts from them *Honours* and *Obedience*, even to *Evil Kings*; and expreſly prohibits all manner of *Forcible Reſiſtance* againſt the *Supreme Magiſtrate*, upon any *pretence* whatſoever. Thus to *Live*, and thus to *Do*, is ſafe, commendable, and Conſonant to the *Principles* of our *Chriſtian Faith*. But yet there are an *Ignorant* and *Unſteady* ſort of People, (I know) that, ſetting Light by *Gods Holy Word* contained in the *Scriptures*, do mightily ſtickle for this *Point* of *repelling* the *Illegal Force* of the *Supreme Magiſtrate* to paſs in the *Affirmative*. But alas! the *Plea* with which they would ſupport their *Aſſertion*, has ſo much of *Unregeneracy* in it, and ſo *little* of *Reaſon*, that there's no great danger of any ſober *Chriſtian's* being ſeduced with it. They tell you that

The *Doctrine* of Killing or Reſiſting the *Supreme Magiſtrate*, condemn'd as Impious.

THE Injuſtice *of a* Prince *towards his* People, *actually diſcharges* them of *their* Obedience *to him*: *And then they are* Both *upon a* Level.

BUT what effect can this dangerous *Pretence* have upon any one, that is but able to diſtinguiſh betwixt the *refuſing* to *Execute* a Mortally ſinful *Command* from a *Prince*;

The *Arguments* for it, anſwer'd.

Prince; and the *Fighting* against, or *Killing* him: where the *One* is palpably opposite to the *Law* of *God*; the *Other*, a Patient *Resignation* of our selves to *his good Pleasure*. This *latter* Course took *Daniel*, the *Prophets*, and *Apostles*: who never went about to oppose the Violence and Injustice of even the *worst* of *Princes*; though they were not to be wrought upon to submit to their *Wills* in *all* things.

God approves of all Reasonable Forms of *Regimens*.

HERE is commonly started a *Question*; *which of these* Forms *of* Monarchy *is most pleasing to God*? And *Divines* are not a little divided, in the matter. *Some* of them contend for the Subjects *All*, to lye at the absolute disposal of the *Prince*: *Others* will have this acerbity of *Bondage*, to be repugnant to the *Gospel*: And in pursuance of this *Doctrine*, not many years since, they instigated the *Multitude* to an *Abjuration* of their *Lawful Sovereign*, in order to the *Recovery* of their *Gospel-Liberty*, (as they call'd it:) Insinuating by Pestilent *Libels*, that all *Professors* ought to be exempted from *Offices* of *Toyl*, and from *Tribute*. The *former Opinion* may indeed be Censurable as over-rigorous, and Inhumane: But for this *latter*, it not only contradicts the *Word of God*, but is also destructive of *Society* and *Commerce*: So that it ought wholly to be Repudiated. And as to the *former*, let me here tell you once for all, that such *Political Forms* of *Regimen* as are grounded upon *Principles* of *Reason*: That do incourage and protect the *Peaceable*, and *Honest*; Prohibit *Vice*, and Punish it; all such *Forms* (if we dare take St. *Paul*'s word in the Case) the *Almighty* does allow of. And although in *some Countries* the Reins of *Government* be kept more strict, and in *others*, more *Remiss*: Yet does not this hinder, but that they may *Both* fairly lay *Claim* to *Divine Institution*. For as *Remedies* are adapted to the *quality* of the *Disease*, and proportion'd to the *strength* of the *Body*; so ought *Political Establishments* to be *more* or *less* severe, according to

to the *Natural Temper* and *Genius* of the *People*: of whom, ſome are ſo perverſly Brutiſh, and Untractable, that no fair means, or good uſage, will prevail upon them. This now is a *cauſe* of the *Diverſity* of *Civil Conſtitutions*, by which ſome are treated as *Slaves*; others, *indulg'd*, and *priviledg'd*; by the Generoſity of the *Prince* in conſenting to a Limitation of his *Prerogative*. Thus it is in *Germany*; where the *Roman Laws* are moſt in uſe: By this we ſee, that *all Subjects* are not properly *Slaves*. Yet can it not be deni'd that *Samuel* (in the *Books* of *Kings*) ſtating the *Rights* of *Empire*, does approve of the moſt *abſolute Form*; and calls it the *Prerogative* of a *King*: The *Holy Ghoſt* intimating by this, that *Sovereignty*, though it be never ſo *Deſpotical*, yet if it obſerve *Virtuous Meaſures*, it is undoubtedly of *Gods appointment*. And the ſame thing may be infer'd from the *proceedings* of *Joſeph*, who miſerably inthrall'd all *Egypt*. But from what has been ſaid there can be no reaſonable *Conſequence*, either that this *Rigorous*, or any *one other Model* of *Regiment*, ought to be univerſally entertain'd, in all *Countries*. For where the *people* have obtain'd a Grant of *Priviledges*, the *Magiſtrate* ought not in Juſtice to invade them: Becauſe in this caſe the *Subjects Right* is as undoubted, as is the *Princes*: only the difference lies in *this*, that the *Subject* may forfeit his *Free-hold*, by *Miſdemeanour*, or otherwiſe; whereas the *Prince* is utterly Incapable of making any Forfeiture of his *Crown*. We read that *Achab* (*King* of *Iſrael*) ſinned grievouſly, in ſeizing upon *Naboth's Vinyard*: becauſe, in that *Country*, God had eſtabliſhed a *Limited Monarchy*; and allotted to the *people* their *Propriety*: And every *Kingdom* has a *Title* to ſuch *Liberties*, as the *Laws* of the ſame do aſſure to it.

A *Liberty*, even under *Tyranny*.

NAY even under *Tyranny* it ſelf, where *All* is meer *Slavery*, the *Magiſtrate* is naturally obliged to ſuch *allowances*

ances as may be ſufficient for the ſupport of his *people*. For, as *Solomon* has it in his *Book* of *Proverbs*; *the Crib, the Whip, and the Burthen to the* Aſs; *Bread, Correction, and Labour, to the* Slave. And the *Civil Law* does permit certain degrees of *Freedom*, even to *Bondmen*, and *Aliens*.

In what ſenſe the word, *Liberty*, ought to be underſtood.

BUT then, on the *other* ſide; by the word *Liberty* ought not to be underſtood *an Exemption from all Reſtraint*: For paying of *Taxes*, and *Obedience*; and the hazzarding of *all* for the ſervice of the *Government*, are *Duties* equally Incumbent upon the *Freeman*, and upon the *Slave*. And thoſe are the *Peſts* of *Mankind*, that cry up *Liberty* as a *Licenſe to Sedition*, not as an *Incentive to Loyalty*. Now let every one of us lay it to heart; that ſince we are born for *Society*; which can never be preſerv'd without *Superiority* and *Obedience*, it becomes both our *Duty*, and our *Intereſt*, to contribute as much as in us lies, to the *Weal* of the *Publique*; and to the maintenance of the *Eſtabliſh'd Political Conſtitutions*.

Of LAWS.

ARISTOTLE concludes his *Third Book* with this *Quære*; *Which is the more* Preferable, *the Government of a* Commonwealth, *according to the* Arbitrament *of a Wiſe, and a Juſt* Prince; or, *according to the preſcriptions of a* written Law? There are certain unexperienc'd perſons that have revived this *Queſtion*, now in *our* Times: Their *Reaſon* this. They happening to be men in *Office*, phanſi'd it a leſſening of their *Credit* to be ſtill treated as *Schoolboys*, and debarr'd the Exerciſe of their *own Judgment*; by being obliged to *Copy* after the *Placits* of every Prating *Lawyer*: And the Veneration paid to the *Labours* of the *Ancients*, was *unſavoury* to the Delicate *Palates* of theſe

forward

forward Statists. Nay some *Learned* men (but such whose *Talent* lay another way) have not a little contributed to the *buoying* them up in this *Pet*; by an Artificial and subtil way of *Reasoning:* As thus.

Many things must of necessity be left to the Determination of an Equitable Judge; *for that it is impossible to comprehend all* Cases *and* Emergencies, *in the Body of the Law. Therefore might the Formalities of Law-Courts well be spar'd, and all businesses more naturally dispatch'd, by such a Concise, and convenient* Method.

AND to make this *Pretence* yet the more *plausible*, they take occasion of Censuring the *Delays*, and *shuffling practices*, which the *people* are commonly exposed to, in these *Courts*. All which *Grievances* (they alledge) would be redress'd; by an allowance of the *Sentence* of the *Magistrate*, though not punctually calculated according to the *Quillets* of *Law*, to be *Decretory*, and *Concluding*.

AFTER the summing up and examining of many *Reasons* to the same purpose; *Aristotle* Resolves all into this *Conclusion*; That 'tis much the more *safe* to sway a *State*, and *satisfactory* to decide *Controversies*, by the help of *Laws*, and sound *President*, than the *other way*: Because (*says he*) without the advantage of such *Instruments*, few are able rightly to pronounce upon Points of *Equity*, and of *profit*, to the *Publique Weal*: And fewer yet, qualified with such an Invincible *Integrity*; as not to give occasion for certain *Over-ruling Establishments*, that may controul or mitigate the *Arbitrariness* of their *Decrees*. Because knowing themselves to be *Unaccountable*, either Ignorance, Passion, or Partiality might otherwise be still prevailing upon them, to take up with *Glimpses* of *Reason*, and *Appearances* of *Truth:* For even *good men themselves grow, many times, the worse by License.*

Aristotle's Opinion, in Answer to the preceding Question, about *Arbitrary Rule*, and *Legal*.

BY

The *Neceſſity*, and *Excellence* of *Laws*.

BY all this we may learn, now; that *Laws* are of neceſſary, and Excellent *Uſe*; and a *General Good* ought ever to weigh down a *Particular Inconvenience*: As *Phyſiques*, though it reaches not to the *Cure* of *all Diſeaſes*, is yet held in juſt *Eſteem*, for the *Effect* it has upon the *Generality* of them. Nay, the Miſchiefs Iſſuing from ſuch a *Liberty*, would be as afflicting to a *State*, as they are Unavoidable. For ſuppoſe a *Judge* indu'd with a *Spirit* of *Infallibility*, as well as of *Honeſty*; yet will not all this annul the neceſſity of *Political Inſtitutions*; becauſe the *Reaſonableneſs* of a *Decree* will never ſatisfie the *Litigious*: But they will ſtill be queſtioning either the Judges *Care*, or his *Integrity*; where there is not an Indifferent, Legal *Standard* to examine the *Juſtice* of his *Sentence* by. This is the only way to quiet the Clamours of the *Contentious*; becauſe they are Conſcious that the *Laws* were Enacted for the *good* of the *Whole*; and not to gratifie any *private Intereſt*: and ſo have no Colour left them, or Excuſe, for refuſing to ſubmit to their *Authority*.

How *Laws* came at firſt, to be made.

FROM the multitude of *Injuſtices* that were continually acted under the *Cover* of this *Arbitrarineſs*, proceeded the *Invention* of *Laws*, as the beſt means to free the *people* from ſuch Burthenſome *Oppreſſions*; and for preventing affronts to the *Language* of the *Magiſtrate*: For the placing the *Reaſons* of their *Determinations* upon *Record*, took away all ſuſpition of *Partiality*, or *Errour* in the *Judgment*; which though it might perhaps ſeem *ſevere*, yet the *Legality* of it was its *Juſtification*: And although the *loſs* of a mans *Cauſe* might ſometimes make him unſatisfi'd with the *Reaſonableneſs* of the *Law* that occaſion'd it: Yet the Complaint reſted *there*; becauſe *that* was the *Rule* agreed upon, for the determining of *Right* and *Wrong*; and the *Generality* of its *Reception* made its *Validity* Unqueſtionable. But this *Argumentation* might be

ſpar'd

ſpar'd; if we would but duly conſider it, that all wiſe *Statesmen* have unanimouſly concurr'd in an Opinion, of the *neceſſity* of *written Laws*. And the *Arguments* on the *other* hand, ought not to be brought into Competition with ſuch a number of *Grave Authorities*. When I conſider that in all *other Arts*, only the *Maſters* of them are eſteemed Competent *Judges* of *Controverſies* ariſing about them; I cannot but reprehend that unhappy *Levity* of *Humour*, ſo predominant among us, which will ſtill be Magiſterially Cenſuring the Proceedings of *Princes*, and *Great* men, at a venture: without any regard to the *Reſpect* enjoyn'd us to our *Superiours*; or to the *difficulty* of the *Political Art*, above all others. This *Vanity* ought effectually to be provided againſt; as not only detracting from the *Dignity* of this glorious *Science*; but incſuding alſo an *Inlet* to the moſt pernicious of *Civil Confuſions*; for it is deſtructive of *Order*, and impairs the Veneration due to the *Government*.

TAKE *Ariſtotle's* Opinion of *written Laws* in his own words; ὁ μὲν δὴ (ſays he) τὸν νόμον κωλύων ἄρχειν, &c. That is to ſay; "Where wholeſome *Laws* are entertained, as a "*Rule* for *Civil* Proceedings, in a *Commonwealth*; it ar- "gues a Diſpoſition in that *people*, to depend upon *Divine* "*Reaſon*, for their *Protection*. But where a *Tyrant* is the "only *Moderator*; there the *Subject* Truckles to a *Brute*; "and lies at the Mercy of *Paſſion*, and *Corruption*: where- "as the *Laws* know none of *this*; as being *True Reaſon*, "diveſted of all *Affections*. Thus much was *well* ſaid; for it inſinuates, that *Laws* are not only according to *Nature*, but that a *Deity* does Eminently Influence, in the *Sanction* of them. For the *Philoſophers* did hold the *Superintendency* of a *Providence*, in the Conſervation of the *Univerſe*: And further; That *Man* brings into the World with him, certain *Natural Principles*, and *Seeds* of *Knowledge*, which

Legal Rule preferr'd to *Arbitrary*.

 are

The *Necessity*, and *Excellence* of *Laws*.

BY all this we may learn, now; that *Laws* are of necessary, and Excellent *Use*; and a *General Good* ought ever to weigh down a *Particular Inconvenience*: As *Physiques*, though it reaches not to the *Cure* of *all Diseases*, is yet held in just *Esteem*, for the *Effect* it has upon the *Generality* of them. Nay, the Mischiefs Issuing from such a *Liberty*, would be as afflicting to a *State*, as they are Unavoidable. For suppose a *Judge* indu'd with a *Spirit* of *Infallibility*, as well as of *Honesty*; yet will not all this annul the necessity of *Political Institutions*; because the *Reasonableness* of a *Decree* will never satisfie the *Litigious*: But they will still be questioning either the Judges *Care*, or his *Integrity*; where there is not an Indifferent, Legal *Standard* to examine the *Justice* of his *Sentence* by. This is the only way to quiet the Clamours of the *Contentious*; because they are Conscious that the *Laws* were Enacted for the *good* of the *Whole*; and not to gratifie any *private Interest*: and so have no Colour left them, or Excuse, for refusing to submit to their *Authority*.

How *Laws* came at first, to be made.

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Legal Rule preferr'd to *Arbitrary*.

 are

are the pure *Effects* of the *Divine Bounty*. Nor have they Judg'd amiss in this matter.

The *Roman Laws* entertain'd in *Germany*.

THE *Germans* were once a *Barbarous People*: But at this day they are *happy* in their *Civil Institutions*, which are calculated according to the *Model* of *Ancient Rome*. So that they must be *Equitable*, as being grafted upon a *Stock* that was planted by the most Wise, Just, and Successful of *Nations*. And to speak the Truth, *it* stands in a great measure indebted to this *Policy*, for its present state of *Humanity*, and *Moderation*.

The *Jewish Platform* never design'd for an *Universal Model*.

THE *Jewish Platform* was unquestionably of *Divine Invention*: but yet it was chiefly adapted to the *Temper* of that particular *People*; and could never be design'd for an *Universal* Model, to the utter abolishing of all other *Establishments*.

The *Roman Laws* commended; and preferr'd to *Licurgus*'s, and *Solon*'s.

LICURGUS'S Laws were many of them *Vicious*, and *Impracticable*. *Solon*'s, indeed, were more *Rational*: But the *Romans*, who came after *Both*, found it necessary to correct, and amend them in many considerable *Points*; as that of *Marriage*, &c. So that upon the whole matter, I may safely affirm the *Roman Laws* to be so Exact, and Effectual, as to all cases that relate to the *well-being* of a *Community*; that *Reason*, and *Nature*, is Eminently Conspicuous in every *Branch* of them. And though there were no use of them at the *Bar*, yet would I advise the Reading of them in *Schools*, as the best means of *Seasoning* the *Judgment*, and *Ripening* it for *Civil Concernments*.

Objections against such as would have the *Jewish Model* to be establish'd in all *Christian States*.

NOW cannot I away with those weak and unsound *Smatterers* in *Divinity*, to whom nothing is *Relishing* but *Novelty*, and *Change*. They are wholly unseen in *this* Study;

Study; and yet are ſharp ſet upon forging of *new Frames* of *Policy*, in oppoſition to the *Precepts* of all the *Ancient Civilians* and *Experienc'd States-men*. Noyſe, and Confidence are indeed their Greateſt *Arguments:* but yet in the *Van* of all their *Lectures*, and *Harangues*, you ſhall ever find the *Verniſh* of *Religion*, and *Conſcience*; and Pretences of *Hearty good will* to the Publique. But alas! how eaſie is it to diſcern the *Cheat* thorough all this *Fucus?* eſpecially when we have it upon *Record*; and by *Experience* every body knows it, that under the *ſelf-ſame Mask* have ſtill been carried on, the moſt Helliſh of *Conſpiracies*, and the horrideſt of *Villanies*, that ever were brought to *Light*, ſince the *Fall* of *Lucifer*. The *main end*, I fear me, of all this *Artificial Clamour*, is either to *Bait* for ſome Fat *Benefice*; or elſe, to ſerve the *Turn* of a Diſaffected, and ambitious *Patron*. For they tell you that all *Heatheniſh Laws* are to be thrown aſide, as *ſinful*; and either *Moſes's*, or *new-minted Models* of their own (*and none other*) to be received in *their* ſtead. Now the *latter* part of this *Project* is Ridiculous, and Vain; as to the *former*, he that underſtands the *Nature* of *Chriſtian Liberty*, may eaſily perceive the unreaſonableneſs of all ſuch *Impoſitions*; For it appears by *Act.* 15. that we are wholly diſcharg'd from thoſe *Obligations*; becauſe if the *Jewiſh Platform* were eſtabliſh'd among *us*, we ſhould then loſe the Name of *Gentiles*; the *Converſion* of *whom*, the *Scriptures* ſo often mention; and become Proſelited *Jews*. But hear their *Argument*.

That which is not of Faith, (ſay they) *is* Sin.

The Magiſtrate Determining *according to the* Roman, *or* other Laws, *cannot be ſure that his* Judgment *is pleaſing to God, becauſe not pronounced according to* His *Rule.*

Therefore ought all Princes *to have Recourſe to thoſe* Laws only, *that God himſelf has eſtabliſh'd.*

The Chief end of the *Bible*; in answer to the foregoing *Plea.*

TO this I answer; That the *Minor Proposition* is simply *False.* For a *Magistrate* may be satisfi'd in his *Conscience* that his *Sentence* is pleasing to *God*, though deliver'd according to the *Tenour* of the *Roman*, or any *other Just Law*; because he has many *Texts* of *Scripture* to warrant such an *Assurance.* Beside that it never was the *End* of those *Sacred Writings* to exhibit Positive *Prescriptions* in such *Civil Cases*, as fall under the *Cognizance* of *Humane Reason*; as being of *Affinity* to *Eating, Tillage, Building, &c.* But their *Real Design* is to reveal to us the *Will* of our *Creator*, in order to our *Eternal Salvation.*

That Heresie, &c. *in a* Prince, *destroys not his Right*, &c. *to Govern.*

WICKLIFF, and others, by *Sophistries* and *Argumentations*, have labour'd to prove, that *He that has not the Gift of the* Holy Spirit, *ought not to be admitted as a* Magistrate. But this *Assertion* is easily overthrown, by a number of Texts of *Scripture* that directly thwart it; by allowing a *Prince* a *Right* to a *Crown*, though he be under *Immoral*, or *Irreligious* Circumstances of *Incapacity. Give unto* Cæsar (says *Christ*) *the things that are* Cæsars: At the uttering whereof it is Notorious, that a lewd and Pagan *Idolater* was possess'd of the *Imperial Throne.* And although S. *Paul* knew very well what Heathenish and Vicious *Wretches* were then in *Authority*; yet at that very time, in his *Epistle* to the *Romans*, he stuck not to declare the *Magistrate* to be *Gods Minister*: Nay, S. *Peter* enjoyns *Obedience* to the *Kings* of his time, were they never so *wicked* or *Atheistical*: In saying *the Kings of the* Gentiles *exercise Authority*; our *Saviour* allows them the Title of *Sovereigns*, without making any Exception to them for the *Impiety* of their *Lives*, or the *Errour* of

of their *Belief*. *Daniel* plainly tells *Nebucodonozer*, that *God* had beſtow'd upon him a *Kingdom*. And in the *Pſalmiſt Kings* are call'd *Gods*; though, in the ſame breath, he upbraided them for their *Iniquities*, and *Corruptions*. Many other Inſtances there are to the ſame purpoſe. But theſe are ſufficient to convince all ſober men, of the weakneſs, and unſoundneſs of all ſuch *Poſitions*: And that in the matter of *Government*, the *Religion* or *Manners*, are not ſo much to be regarded, as the *Command* of *God*; which preſſes all due Reverence to the *Perſon* of a *King*, though there were no other Motive to it, than the *ſacredneſs* of his *Function*. *Chriſtians* may further take notice, that *God* many times puniſhes a People, by ſetting a Vicious *Magiſtrate* over them, as a *Judgment* upon them for their *ſins*: So that it is our *Duty* to amend our own Lives, and not to ſeek the deſtruction of that of our *Prince*, if we be afflicted under his *Government*. The Sentence of *Euripides* that recommends a Patient Toleration of the Irregularities, and Errours of *Kings*, is worthy our *Chriſtian Imitation*; for we are bound, in *Conſcience*, to ſubmit to the *Injunctions* of the *Powers* above us.

FOR *Argument ſake*, I will now give you a taſte of *Wickliff*'s way of *Reaſoning* upon this Point; as a pregnant proof of the *Byaſs*, and *Pravity* of his *Judgment*.

Civil Dominion (ſays he) *is grounded upon Natural.*
Natural Dominion is to be Juſt.
Therefore Civil Dominion reſts upon the ſame Bottom.

He urges, in Proof of the *Minor*, that *Adam* receiv'd the Gift of his *Authority*, in his ſtate of *Innocence*.

Civil Dominion may fall upon ſuch as are wholly unworthy of it.

BUT, I ſay, that the *Minor* is *falſe*, this notwithſtanding: For I deny that *Natural Dominion* is, to be *Juſt*; and that *Juſtice* (eſpecially *Perſonal*) is ſo eſſential to *Sovereignty*, that the *defect* of the *one*, does Cancel the *Right* of the *other*.

other. Becauſe, admitting that *Adam* was cloth'd in *Original Righteouſneſs*, when he had his *Dominion* beſtow'd upon him; yet it is clear, that the ſame *Right* was continu'd to him after the Labefaction of his *Innocence.* And, in truth, what can be meant by *Natural Dominion*, more than this? *A Decree of* Reaſon *to direct a right uſe of the Goods of* Nature, *in Order to the welfare, and ſecurity of Man.* But if this *Solution* be deem'd liable to queſtion; it may be thus ſupported: *Civil Dominion is founded upon the* Ordinance *of God. This* Ordinance *was eſtabliſh'd after the Tranſgreſſion of* Adam. *Therefore may the* Right *to Civil Dominion fall upon a wicked Perſon that is wholly unworthy of it.* It has been my Care, throughout this *Diſcourſe*, to make uſe of ſuch *Arguments* as have *Gods Word* to Countenance them; even to the rejecting of almoſt all *others*: As knowing well that *thoſe* would find better acceptance, and the *Authority* of them be preferr'd to the *Thorny Sophiſms*, and *Glimmerings* of *Humane Wit.*

The *Original* of *Laws.*

IN a word: After the *Fall* of *Adam*, there aroſe a neceſſity of *Laws*, for the Correction of *Vice*; and conſequently of *Magiſtrates*, to put them in Execution: So that *Natural Dominion* may be warrantably defined thus. A Grant of *Authority*, from the Law of *Nature*, to ſome particular perſons, for the reſtraining of the *Licentious.* For it is certain, that *Adam*, after his *Offence*, preſerved his *Natural Title* to the *Law*, as well as his *Reaſon.* And *Civil Dominion* may be term'd, *An Execution of the Natural.* For without ſome *fit perſons* to ſit at the *Helm*, and a *Care* to ſuppreſs all other *Pretenders*; the Publique Affairs of *States* can never be capable of any Regular, or Politique *Adminiſtration.* Now the doing of all this may be call'd *Civil Dominion*, which is a certain *Effect of the Natural.* And what Broyls and Confuſions in a *City*, nay in a *Family*, would be Conſequential to ſuch wicked *Practices* toward

ward destroying the Authority of the *Magistrate*, or of hte *Parent*, as these lewd *Principles* of his do suggest, and approve of? By this way of Proceeding, no *Prince* or *Commonwealth* could ever be secure, or support themselves against the *Confederate Violences* of *Ambition*, *Luxury*, and all manner of *Vices*: For *nothing is so easie, as to pick a Hole in another mans Doublet*. Nay it will pluck down *Gods* Terrible Wrath and Vengeance upon all those *Miscreants*, that shall dare to treat Irreverently the *Lords Annointed*. But *Wickliff* goes on.

All the Actions *of a wicked man* (says he) *are* sinful.
He sins *in the Exercise of* Authority.
Therefore *he is Incapable of being a* True *Magistrate*.

I REPLY to *this*; that a *Prince's abusing* of his *Power*, can never *Annihilate* his *Right* to *Dominion*: Because that's not capable of any *Forfeiture*. Nor is a Concurrence of the greatest *Personal Failings*, in a *King*, sufficient to excuse or justifie any *Attempt* whatsoever, toward the *Dethroning* of him. But his *Conclusion* is false too; for it should not be, *He is no true Magistrate*; but *He abuses his Authority*, [as not having a *Right Faith* toward *God?*] And this *abuse* is not Repugnant to the *Nature* of *Government*. For to say it were, would be the same thing, as for a body to argue thus idly;

Incapacity, or *Irreligion*, does not annihilate a *Princes Right* to a *Crown*.

Whatever a wicked man does, is sin.
He sins *in Eating*.
Therefore he does not really *Eat*.

THIS now is an apparent *Non-sequitur* for the *Injustice* of *Governing*, or the *sinfulness* of *Eating*, is no more, than the doing of *either*, without True *Faith*: And do not any way imply a *sinfulness* in the *Meat* it self, or in the *simple Enjoyment* of his *Right*. But I am sick of spending time upon such feeble *Cavils*: Nor in truth had I gone thus far, but for the sake of discovering to the *Green Wits*, the sorry *Delusions* with which *Satan* does impose upon all such, as out of a Prospect of *Worldly Advantages*, are prevail'd upon to deviate from the *Path* of *Truth*.

The *Conclusion*.

THE END.